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YECUANA SS20

KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE YEKUÁNA AND GOAJIRO[1]

JOHANNES WILBERT

YEKUÁNA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

THE PRESENT PAPER is concerned mainly with the kinship system of the Yekuána Indians. The data were collected from a Makiritare Indian. Although the Makiritare are but *one* Yekuána subgroup out of several, and although we were told by our informant that the phonetics of the kin terms may vary considerably from one group to another, we are sure that these facts are of no structural importance with respect to the system as such. The Yekuána tribes belong to the Cariban linguistic stock. They occupy a large area between the Parágua and the upper Orinoco where they live in scattered settlements with some concentration along the rivers Parágua, Caura, and the headwaters of the Orinoco.

Subsistence is based on hunting and brand-tillage agriculture, supplemented by fishing and gathering. Bitter manioc is the staple crop, followed by maize, but pinespples and tobacco are also grown. The dog is the only domestic animal. Both men and women fish. The men hunt, clear the land, plant the crops, and also weave and make baskets, coiled pottery, and dugout canoes. Intertribal trade is important. A settlement includes a single large communal dwelling, oval in shape, with a conical thatched roof and walls of wattle-and-daub. Individual families occupy apartments along the walls, the center of the hut being reserved for communal dinners and as a bachelors' room.[2]

Of the twenty-one fundamental kinship terms listed below nineteen are always used in address and two only in reference. The latter refer to "husband" and "wife" who, because of a strong avoidance taboo are not supposed to address each other in public. No teknonyms are employed, and personal names are only known of a few individuals. A number of terms such as those for sisters and younger brother are always used with the diminutive suffix /-ko/, which to omit is considered to be very rude. All kinship terms appear to be elementary terms and most of them are highly classificatory with regard to their range of application. Only two terms of address are denotive, not counting the referential forms for "husband" and "wife."

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2 R. Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roraima zum Orinoco* (Stuttgart, 1923), vol. 3, pp. 250-333; G. P. Murdock, *Outline of South American Cultures* (Behavior Science Outlines, vol. 2, 1951, New Haven), p. 121; G. P. Murdock, *South American Culture Areas* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 7, 1951, pp. 415-436), pp. 432-433; J. Gillin, "Tribes of the Guianas" (in *Handbook of South American Indians*, J. H. Steward, ed., vol. 3, pp. 799-860), pp. 848-850.

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YECUANA SSa0

(60) *List and application of kinship terms*[3]

1 kíka:	FaFa/FaFaBr/FaFaBrSo/FaFaSiSo/FaMoBr/ FaMoBrSo/FaMoSiSo/MoFa/MoFaBr/MoFaBrSo/ MoFaSiSo/MoMoBr/MoMoBrSo/MoMoSiSo
2 šida:	FaMo/FaMoSi/FaMoSiDa/FaMoBrDa/FaFaSi/ FaFaSiDa/FaFaBrDa/MoMo/MoMoSi/MoMoSiDa/ MoMoBrDa/MoFaSi/MoFaSiDa/MoFaBrDa
3 híku:	Fa/FaBr/MoSiHu
4 šme:	Mo/FaBrWi/MoSi
5 wíšeme:	FaSi/MoBrWi/WiMo/HuMo
6 yáwa:	MoBr/FaSiHu/WiFa/HuFa
7 uddi:	e.Br (m.s.)/FaBr e.So (m.s.)/MoSi e.So (m.s.)
8 yákonde:	y.Br/FaBr y.So/MoSi y.So/FaSi y.So (w.s.)/ MoBr y.So (w.s.)/FaSiSoSoSo (w.s.)/FaSiSoDaSo (w.s.)/ FaSiDaSoSo (w.s.)/FaSiDaDaDa (w.s.)/MoBrSoSoSo (w.s.)/ MoBrSoDaSo (w.s.)/MoBrDaSoSo (w.s.)/MoBrDaDaSo (w.s.)
9 yáya:	e.Si/FaBr e.Da/FaSi e.Da (m.s.)/MoBr e.Da (m.s.)/ MoSi e.Da/BrWi (m.s.)/WiBrWi/WiSi
10 adíya:	y.Si/FaBr y.Da/FaSi y.Da (m.s.)/MoBr y.Da (m.s.)/ MoSi y.Da/FaSiSoDa (m.s.)/FaSiDaDa (m.s.)/ MoBrSoDa (m.s.)/MoBrDaDa (m.s.)/FaSiSoSoDa (m.s.)/ FaSiSoDaDa (m.s.)/FaSiDaSoDa (m.s.)/FaSiDaDaDa (m.s.)
11 yayáka:	e.Br (w.s.)/FaBr e.So (w.s.)/FaSi e.So (w.s.)/MoBr e.So (w.s.)/ MoSi e.So (w.s.)/HuSiHu/HuBr
12 wína:	FaSiSo (m.s.)/MoBrSo (m.s.)/FaSiSoSoSo (m.s.)/ FaSiSoDaSo (m.s.)/FaSiDaSoSo (m.s.)/FaSiDaDaSo (m.s.)/ MoBrSoSoSo (m.s.)/MoBrSoDaSo (m.s.)/MoBrDaSoSo (m.s.)/ MoBrDaDaSo (m.s.)/SiHu (m.s.)/WiBr/WiSiHu
13 yúka:	FaSiDa (w.s.)/MoBrDa (w.s.)/FaSiSoSoDa (w.s.)/ FaSiSoDaDa (w.s.)/FaSiDaSoDa (w.s.)/FaSiDaDaDa (w.s.)/ MoBrSoSoDa (w.s.)/MoBrSoDaDa (w.s.)/MoBrDaSoDa (w.s.)/ MoBrDaDaDa (w.s.)/BrWi (w.s.)/HuBrWi/HuSi

[104] [3] Phonetic transcriptions:
a – unaccented
á – [æ], pol.
ú – [Λ]
' – nasal

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro
Yecuana SS2

14 umédï: So/Da/BrSo (m.s.) /BrDa (m.s.) /SiSo (w.s.) /SiDa (w.s.) / FaBrSoSo (m.s.) /FaBrSoDa (m.s.) /MoSiSoSo (m.s.) / MoSiSoDa (m.s.) /FaBrDaSo (w.s.) /FaBrDaDa (w.s.) / MoSiDaSo (w.s.) /MoSiDaDa (w.s.) 601

15 ɸóne: BrSo (w.s.) /SiSo (m.s.) /FaBrSoSo (w.s.) /FaBrDaSo (m.s.) / FaSiSoSo/FaSiDaSo/MoBrSoSo/MoBrDaSo/ MoSiSoSo (w.s.) /MoSiDaSo (m.s.)

16 hése: BrDa (w.s.) /SiDa (m.s.) /FaBrDaDa (m.s.) /FaBrSoDa (w.s.) / FaSiSoDa (w.s.) /FaSiDaDa (w.s.) /MoBrDaDa (w.s.) / MoBrSoDa (w.s.) /MoSiSoSo (w.s.) /MoSiDaDa (m.s.)

17 héde: SoSo/SoDa/DaSo/DaDa/BrSoSo/BrSoDa/BrDaSo/ BrDaDa/SiSoSo/SiSoDa/SiDaSo/SiDaDa/FaBrSoSoSo/ FaBrSoSoDa/FaBrSoDaSo/FaBrSoDaDa/FaBrDaSoSo/ FaBrDaSoDa/FaBrDaDaSo/FaBrDaDaDa/MoSiSoSoSo/ MoSiSoSoDa/MoSiSoDaSo/MoSiSoDaDa/MoSiDaSoSo/ MoSiDaSoDa/MoSiDaDaSo/MoSiDaDaDa

18 xadáne: SoWi

19 xanîde: DaHu

20 "îño": Hu

21 "xîñáme": Wi

Kin Relationships

Kinship is bifurcate-merging. The father's brother is classified with the father, while the mother's brother is designated by a different term. On the other hand, the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the father's sister is designated by a different term. Other relatives merged are Ego's son and Ego's brother's son. Some kinship terms vary according to the sex of the speaker, and others are used to denote relatives irrespective of their sex and age. Grandparents and their brothers and sisters are terminologically distinguished by sex, Ego's siblings and cousins by sex and age. Exceptions are made with the cross-cousins whom one can marry: they are referred to by the same terms as are brother-in-law and sister-in-law, and their parents are classified as parents-in-law. Cross-cousin terminology, then, reflects the system of marriage. Parallel cousins are classified like Ego's siblings and are not considered by Ego as potential spouses. On the basis of cousin terminology the kinship system of the Yekuána is thus of the Iroquois type. [582]

The terms for cross-cousins are extended to include their children's children, distinguishing between sex. The offspring of siblings' children, as well as those of

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro
Yecuana SSD

parallel-cousins, are designated by one term without marking sex differences. The latter is also true of the term used to designate brother's children and those of male parallel cousins; whereas by using two different terms, differentiations by sex are made for sister's children and those of female parallel-cousins. The term for "younger sister" is extended to include all individuals of opposite sex in the line of Ego's cross-cousins.

Avoidance regulations are strictly observed in Yekuána groups. They are extended from FaSi, MoBrWi, HuMo, WiMo, to include all cross-cousins and their offspring of opposite sex and parents-in-law and siblings-in-law of opposite sex. Avoidance was said to be not observed between Ego and Mo, MoSi, FaBrWi, parallel-cousins, or siblings.

It is certainly remarkable that an avoidance taboo exists between husband and wife in Yekuána society. Koch-Grünberg[4] observed that a Yekuána wife never serves her husband first during communal banquets, but from this one would not necessarily deduce a husband-wife avoidance; especially since this kind of avoidance is generally unheard of between partners of this category.[5] To judge from the confirmation given by our informant and according to the kinship terminology, however, there can be no doubt concerning the correctness of this statement. Avoidance taboos thus do not coincide with incest taboos in Yekuána society. In a case of emergency the general pattern of avoidance may be disregarded, when partners converse with averted faces.

Relations between husband and wife were said to be generally friendly, and children treat their parents with respect. Intimate relations exist between grandparents and grandchildren. Instead of calling them by the general term of mīdekáka (children) they may bestow the name emukewedyu on them; a term which may be interpreted best as "my little one" but actually cannot be translated. The grandparents make little presents to their grandchildren, e.g., food, a bow, or a musical instrument. When grown up, the grandchildren present their grandparents with food or weapons, such as a blowgun. If a child disobeys his grandparents, the latter have the right to punish him; a father will call his child to order if it should ridicule the old ones. Grandparents look after their grandchildren whenever their parents are out in search of food, and they accept them in their household should they become orphans. As a rule, however, orphans join the family of a maternal or paternal aunt.

Within the extended family greatest respect is paid to the parents of the spouse, and especially to the father of the wife. He is obeyed in all domestic affairs. A

4 Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, p. 353.
5 G. P. Murdock *Social Structure* (New York, 1949), p. 278.

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro
Yecuana S520

A child was said to owe more respect on a whole to his father because he was the one who "filled" a "vessel," the mother, whose function was only to receive and guard. [593]

There exists a kind of blood-brotherhood among the Yekuána, and according to our informant also among the Guaharíbo. Shortly before meeting an enemy the warriors will halt on their path to make sure everybody who came so far will continue on the war path as a man one can count on. Two leading individuals will cut their arms, collecting the blood in a leaf formed as a funnel. Each of them will trickle his own blood into the partner's nose, upon which they address each other as wuščakono, meaning "my intimate one." The same term, however, is also used by consanguineal brothers who love each other very much: wuščakono thus gets the meaning of "my intimate brother." While the war leaders exchange their blood, the warriors squeeze the sap out of the stems of a certain plant to drop it into each other's noses. This would cause them to become like "wild animals," and was said to be the reason why many enemies would call them "tigers." The exchanging of blood and the consuming of the plant's sap anticipates the approaching victory. The war chiefs lead their men on the final stage towards the enemy and nobody may return after this ceremony. The war chiefs exchange their blood each time they encounter the same situation. [608]

Notes on the Social Organization

Although cohabitation of the extended family within a single communal house calls for subordination of its nuclear families, the latter, nevertheless, are the fundamental social and economic units among the Yekuána. Most of the daily activities are carried out by the members of the nuclear family for its direct benefit. On festive occasions, after a game drive or when a big piece of game is brought in by a hunter, the food is put at the disposal of the head of the extended family to be redistributed among its members. Within the nuclear family each member is allotted his share by the father. [224]

The prevailing rule of residence of a married couple is matrilocal. Heretofore the Yekuána have been described as patrilocal, mainly because of Koch-Grünberg's statement that the woman follows the man to live in his house, that she becomes a member of his "Sippe" and that her children belong to her spouse's group.[6] We have tested our informant on this question and there remains no doubt that at least among the Makiritare matrilocality prevails. Since Yekuána villages mostly consist of one huge communal dwelling marriage involves the removal of the groom to another village in local exogamy. There was said not to exist any exception to either matrilocality or local exogamy. Only upon the death of the wife or of *both* [621] [582]

6 Koch-Grünberg, *Von Roraima zum Orinoco*, p. 354.

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro
Yecuana SSA

of her parents is the man free to return to the kin of his family of orientation. It may be that the prevailing opinion of previous authors concerning the patrilocality of the Yekuana rests on such an exceptional case hit upon by Koch-Grünberg. In case of active hostilities between the husband's family unit of orientation and that of procreation he may be exempted from participation in any action against the members of the first group.

Our informant approved of Koch-Grünberg's statement that polygyny is practiced among the Yekuana.[7] Two to five women may be married by a man, and sororal marriages are frequently to be observed. The levirate is practiced in the event the husband's brother is a bachelor. Polygyny does by no means seem to indicate a special degree of achieved status or rank. Within the extended family authority rests with the *pater familias*. His function may be inherited by the paternal uncle or by the eldest son: the paternal uncle ranks first, however. The head of the local group is addressed by kóka, and the last chief to have been widely known lived towards the end of the 19th century at the Cunucunuma under the name of Aramáre.[8] A paramount chief does not seem to be recognized among the Yekuana. Instead the local group is politically autonomous under the headman.

Personal belongings are inherited by sons or daughters, depending on the sex of the defunct.

We have not inquired deeply into marriage rites. Special ceremonies, however, do not seem to exist. Initiation for boys was said to be unknown, although girls, when menstruating for the first time, had to stay in a cabin (closed from all sides) within the communal dwelling. This seclusion is observed for fifteen to twenty days, a period during which the girl may eat very little and only foods which had been "blown upon" by the piache (siwéi). After this period is over the girl is led by her mother to a place some 400 m away from the house from where she has to run the gauntlet between two lines of men in the direction of the house. She is whipped with leaves of curagua until she reaches the house where her father and her paternal uncle receive her. Here the candidate has to stand still with her hands raised over her head while the two men continue the whipping for a while. If she has learned how to control herself the girl is not supposed to cry. No explanation was given of the object of this ceremonial whipping, but Koch-Grünberg[9] reports the practice of prophylactic whipping against sickness, and there obviously is some connection. After the ceremony a festival begins which lasts for

7 *Idem*, p. 333.

8 J. Chaffanjon, *L'Orénoque et le Caura, relation du voyage entrepris en 1886 et 1887* (Paris, 1889), p. 261.

9 Koch-Grünberg, *Von Roraima zum Orinoco*, p. 66, Abb. 2

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13
YECUANA SS20

Y 881 [582] Y 611

some two or three days; from that time on the girl is considered marriageable. Girls are married early and bachelors practically do not exist.

Future field work will have to disclose whether it is true that a unilinear rule of descent has indeed not been established among the Yekuána, as our informant told us. So far we can only say that the Yekuána have a society with bilateral descent, local exogamy, matrifocal residence, Iroquois cousin terminology, and matri-clans. In general it is rare to find Iroquois cousin terminology with bilateral descent. The matri-clan structure, however, resulting from local exogamy and matrifocal residence, provides a perfectly good functional basis for Iroquois cousin terminology despite the absence of unilinear descent.

Y [114]

THE GOAJIRO KINSHIP SYSTEM

G 121 114

This section is intended to contribute to the study of Goajiro sociology, by giving some notes on the kinship system of this Indian group. Although some contributions, mainly with respect to the social organization of the Goajiro have been published in the past, information on their kinship system is almost completely lacking.

G 115 G [191]

By chance, the author was visited by J. A. Polanko, a Goajiro Indian in his thirties, who belongs to the Guaseo group of the Venezuelan part of the peninsula "La Goajira." The informant is bilingual, speaking Spanish as a second language to his mother tongue. Although the information acquired through the help of this person has been carefully checked, it may very well be possible that certain mistakes are to be corrected by future research.

G 601

1 anáke:	FaFa/FaFaBr/FaMoBr/MoFa/MoFaBr
2 énke:	FaFaSi/FaMo/FaMoSi/MoFaSi/MoMo/MoMoSi
3 ali:	Fa/FaBr/FaSiHu/FaFaBrSo/FaFaSiSo/FaMoBrSo/ FaMoSiSo/MoSiHu/MoFaBrSo (w.s.)/MoFaSiSo (w.s.)/ FaSiSo/FaSiDaSo/FaSiDaDaSo
4 ai:	Mo/FaBrWi/FaSi/FaFaBrDa/FaFaSiDa/FaMoBrDa/ FaMoSiDa/MoFaBrDa (w.s.)/MoFaSiDa (w.s.)/FaSiDa/ FaSiDaDa/FaSiDaDaDa
5 aránsi:	MoBr/MoFaSiSo (m.s.)/MoMoBr/MoMoSiSo
6 aráguru:	MoBrWi (m.s.)/WiSi (m.s.)/BrWi (m.s.)
7 áiši:	MoSi/MoFaSiDa (m.s.)/MoMoSiDa/SoWi/HuMo
8 anáiši:	y. Br
9 apáiyu:	a. Br/a. Si (w.s.)

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

60) 10 aläuli: Si (m.s.)/FaBrDa (m.s.)/FaSiSoDa (m.s.)/MoSiDa (m.s.) FaSiDaSoDa

11 aüuli: FaBrSo/FaBrDa (w.s.)/FaSiSoSo/FaSiSoDa (w.s.)/ FaSiDaSoSo

12 aguiru: MoSiSo (m.s.)/MoSiDa (w.s.)

13 nurf MoBrWi (w.s.)/HuSi/BrWi (w.s.)

14 aüng: MoFaBrSo (m.s.)/MoFaBrDa (m.s.)/MoMoBrSo/ MoMoBrDa/MoBrSo/MoBrDa/So/Da/BrSo/BrDa/ FaBrSoSo/FaBrSoDa/FaBrDaSo (w.s.)/FaBrDaDa (w.s.)/ MoSiSoSo/MoSiSoDa/FaSiSoSoSo/FaSiSoSoDa/ FaSiSoDaSo (w.s.)/FaSiSoDaDa (w.s.)/ MoSiDaSoSo (m.s.)/MoSiDaSoDa (m.s)

15 aring: MoBrSoSo/MoBrSoDa/MoBrDaSo/MoBrDaDa/ FaBrSoSoSo/FaBrSoSoDa/FaBrSoDaSo/FaBrSoDaDa/ FaBrDaSoSo/FaBrDaSoDa/FaBrDaDaSo/FaBrDaDaDa/ MoBrSoSoSo/MoBrSoSoDa/MoBrSoDaSo/MoBrSoDaDa/ MoBrDaSoSo/MoBrDaSoDa/MoBrDaDaSo/ MoBrDaDaDa/MoSiSoSoSo/MoSiSoSoDa/MoSiSoDaSo/ MoSiSoDaDa/MoSiDaSoSo (w.s.)/MoSiDaSoDa (w.s.)/ SoSo/SoDa/DaSo/DaDa/BrSoSo/BrSoDa/BrDaSo/ BrDaDa/SiSoSo/SiSoDa

16 aüpi: SiSo (m.s.)/SiDa (m.s.)/FaBrDaSo (m.s.)/ FaBrDaDa (m.s.)/MoSiDaSo (m.s.)/MoSiDaDa (m.s.)/ MoSiDaDaSo (m.s.)/MoSiDaDaDa (m.s.)/SiDaSo (m.s.)/ SiDaDa (m.s.)/FaSiSoDaSo (m.s.)/FaSiSoDaDa (m.s.)

17 aüüngri: SiSo (w.s.)/SiDa (w.s.)/SiDaSo (w.s.)/SiDaDa (w.s.)/ MoSiDaDaSo (w.s.)/MoSiDaDaDa (w.s.)

18 ürüri: Hu

19 mïri: Wi

20 aïmüyu: WiFa/DaHu (m.s.)

21 aüli: HuFa/DaHu (w.s.)

22 mmüli: WiMo

23 mïli: SiHu (m.s.)/WiBr

24 hamïlu: SiHu (w.s.)/HuBr

25 apïyumulug: HuBrWi

26 arumïng: SoWiFa/SoWiMo/DaHuFa/DaHuMo

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.: nüshi pïichí – father of pïichí (nI – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; pïichí – baciro). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as baciro (pïichí), tiger (kashïra), pig (pïrïkï), wild cat (mütü), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (hasüsü), brownish one (murïachong), etc.

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the oldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the oldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild.

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashi – my father; pïshii – your father; nïshi – his father; shïshi – her father; washi – our father; hashi – your (pl.) father; nashi – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild."

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three avunculates (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives).

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC1

582 As for the mentioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsmen of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses.
[595] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is mentioned although it very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system
[596] of Crow type.
[597]

602 No avoidances' taboos were said to exist in Goajiro society, but great attention is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected
[593] equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an older than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and
[413] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

605 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro.
609 Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as
597 stepparents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the father's side.

Caracas, Venezuela